

Racially Polarized Voting in Miami, Florida

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Introduction and Scope of Work

My name is Bryant J. Moy, Ph.D., and I am a faculty fellow in the Center for Data Science and a Visiting Assistant Professor in the Wilf Family Department of Politics at New York University. My qualifications were further described in my initial report dated February 10, 2023.

I have been asked to analyze two proposed maps and provide my expert opinion on whether Black voters could elect their preferred candidates in the newly constituted District 5. I was provided a geolocated voter file and two shape files containing the geographic boundaries of newly constituted District 5.

In this report, I analyze the performance of the Black-preferred candidate in six recent contests from 2022. Next, I re-analyze five contests from 2020 where I previously showed evidence of racial polarization. I discuss how the newly proposed maps make it easier for Black voters to translate their preferences to higher vote totals for their preferred candidate.

Summary of Findings

- Black voters in Miami District 5 cohesively support a single candidate in the six recent elections: Senate, Governor, County Judge Group 5, Chief Financial Officer, Commissioner of Agriculture, and Attorney General. Moreover, non-Hispanic white voters' support for the Black-preferred candidate is under 50% in all but one of the analyzed contests.
- In the six recent elections, the Black-preferred candidate received the vast majority of the top two-candidate vote share across both newly proposed districts.
- In the re-analysis of five previously polarized contests in 2020, I find that the Black-preferred candidate would prevail in either of the proposed districts. Moreover, it would be easier for Black voters to translate their preferences into a higher vote share for their preferred candidate in the two proposed districts than in the currently constituted one.

1 Black-Preferred Candidates in Recent Elections

In this section, I estimate the extent to which Black voters cohesively support a single candidate and whether non-Hispanic whites support the Black-preferred candidate. Furthermore, using precinct-level election results, I provide evidence of how the Black-preferred candidate would have performed under the various District 5 maps. In Table 1, I provide a list of six recently held contests in 2022. I indicate the ethnicity of the candidate in parentheses: "B" represents Black, "W" represents non-Hispanic white, and "H" represents Hispanic of any race.

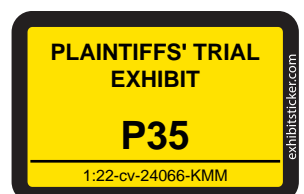
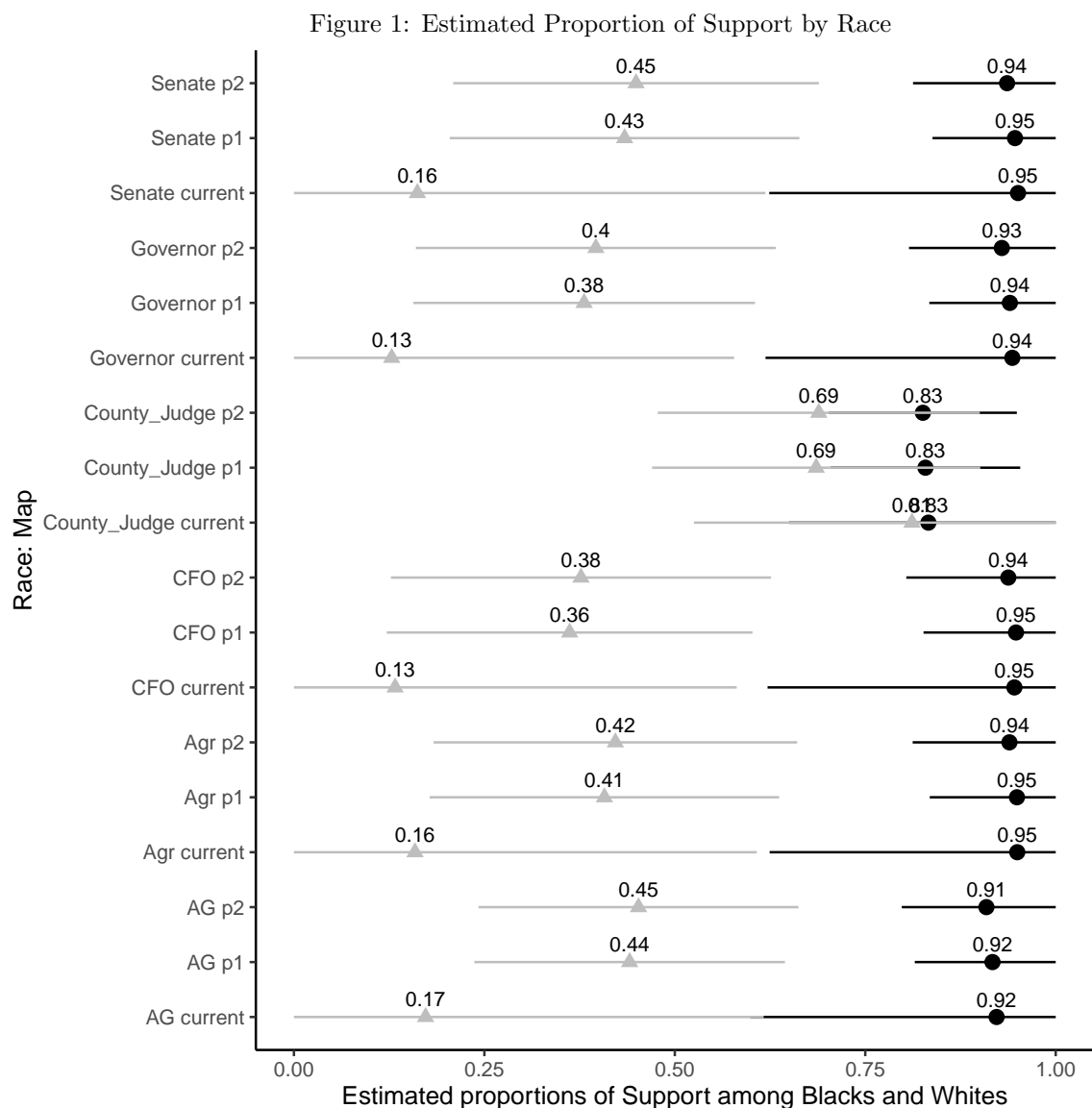


Table 1: List of Elections Analyzed

Race	Black-Preferred Candidate	Non-Black-Preferred Candidate
US Senate	Demings (B)	Rubio (H)
Governor	Crist (W)	DeSantis (W)
Attorney General	Ayala (B)	Moody (W)
Chief Financial Officer	Hattersley (W)	Patronis (W)
Commissioner of Agriculture	Blemur (B)	Simpson (W)
County Judge 5	Seraphin (B)	Diaz de la Portilla (H)

1.1 Estimating Support for the Black-Preferred Candidate By Race

I analyze the extent to which Blacks and whites support different candidates. As shown in Figure 1, Black voters cohesively support a single candidate. Indeed, Black voters support their preferred candidate in rates higher than 80% in all elections analyzed. Non-Hispanic white support for the Black-preferred candidate is below 50% in all contests but County Judge Group 5.



1.2 Performance of Black-Preferred Candidate in Recent Elections

Using precinct-level results of six elections held in 2022, I aggregate results to determine how many votes the Black-preferred candidate would have received within the boundaries of the two newly constituted districts (See Table 2). The two-candidate vote shares were similar across proposed districts.¹ Yet, the Black-preferred candidate would have prevailed in all contests analyzed at the district-level.

Table 2: Black-Preferred Candidate Performance in Recent Election

Race	Map	Vote Total ²	Black-Pref. #	Black-Pref. %	Non-Black-Pref. #	Non-Black-Pref. %
County Judge Grp 5	Current	6473	5046	77.95%	1427	22%
County Judge Grp 5	1	6567	5124	78%	1443	22%
County Judge Grp 5	2	6698	5220	78%	1478	22%
US Senate	Current	14370	11741	81.7%	2629	18.3%
US Senate	1	14483	11784	81.36%	2699	18.6%
US Senate	2	14859	12047	81%	2812	18.9%
Governor	Current	14392	11523	80%	2869	20%
Governor	1	14500	11555	80%	2945	20%
Governor	2	14875	11812	79.4%	3063	20.5%
Attorney General	Current	14300	11424	80%	2876	20%
Attorney General	1	14418	11462	79.5%	2956	20.5%
Attorney General	2	14793	11730	79.3%	3063	20.7%
CFO	Current	14200	11470	80.8%	2730	19.2%
CFO	1	14324	11505	80.3%	2819	19.7%
CFO	2	14696	11764	80%	2932	20%
Comm. of Agriculture	Current	14273	11689	81.9%	2584	22.1%
Comm. of Agriculture	1	14396	11724	81.4%	2672	18.6%
Comm. of Agriculture	2	14766	11986	81.2%	2780	18.8%

2 Black-Preferred Candidate Performance in Previously Racially Polarized Elections

Table 3: Black-Preferred Candidate Performance in Previous RPV Elections

Race	Map	Vote #	Black-Pref. #	Black-Pref. %	Non-Black-Pref. #	Non-Black-Pref. %
President	Current	30418	25648	84.3%	4770	15.7%
President	1	34422	28462	82.7%	5960	17.3%
President	2	35032	28935	82.6%	6097	17.4%
County Mayor	Current	26889	22159	82.4%	4730	17.6%
County Mayor	1	30509	24845	81.4%	5664	18.6%
County Mayor	2	31059	25262	81.3%	5797	18.6%
County Judge Grp 9	Current	10335	6933	67%	3402	32.9%
County Judge Grp 9	1	11686	7631	65.3%	4055	34.7%
County Judge Grp 9	2	11867	7744	65.2%	4123	34.7%
Circuit Judge Group 57	Current	10654	7380	69%	3274	30.7%
Circuit Judge Group 57	1	12016	8103	67.4%	3913	32.6%
Circuit Judge Group 57	2	12200	8227	67.4%	3973	32.6%
Circuit Judge Group 67	Current	10407	6079	58.4%	4328	41.6%
Circuit Judge Group 67	1	11779	6646	56.4%	5133	43.6%
Circuit Judge Group 67	2	11958	6751	56.4%	5207	43.5%

In this section, I re-analyze five 2020 contests that showed signs of racial polarization in my previous report: President, County Mayor, County Judge Group 9, Circuit Judge Group 57, and Circuit Judge Group

1. I use the top two candidate vote totals to examine the contest's Black-preferred and non-Black-preferred candidates.

67. In Table 3, I aggregate the official election results for each district and show how many votes the Black-preferred candidate would have received under each map. Across all contests, the Black-preferred candidate would have received the majority of the votes in District 5.

Figures 2 - 6 depicts the relationship between the Black share of the electorate and the share that the Black-preferred candidate received. Each dot represents a precinct and corresponds to the share of Black registered voters and the two-candidate vote share in that precinct. I report the correlation coefficient in the top left of each figure. These correlation coefficients are bounded from -1 to +1. Numbers closer to 1 indicate that Black voters are able to translate their preferences into their preferred candidate's vote share.

As we see in the figures, Black voters can better translate their preferences into higher vote shares in the two proposed districts than in the current District 5. For all contests, the correlation coefficient is larger and closer to one in the two proposed districts.

Figure 2: Presidential Election

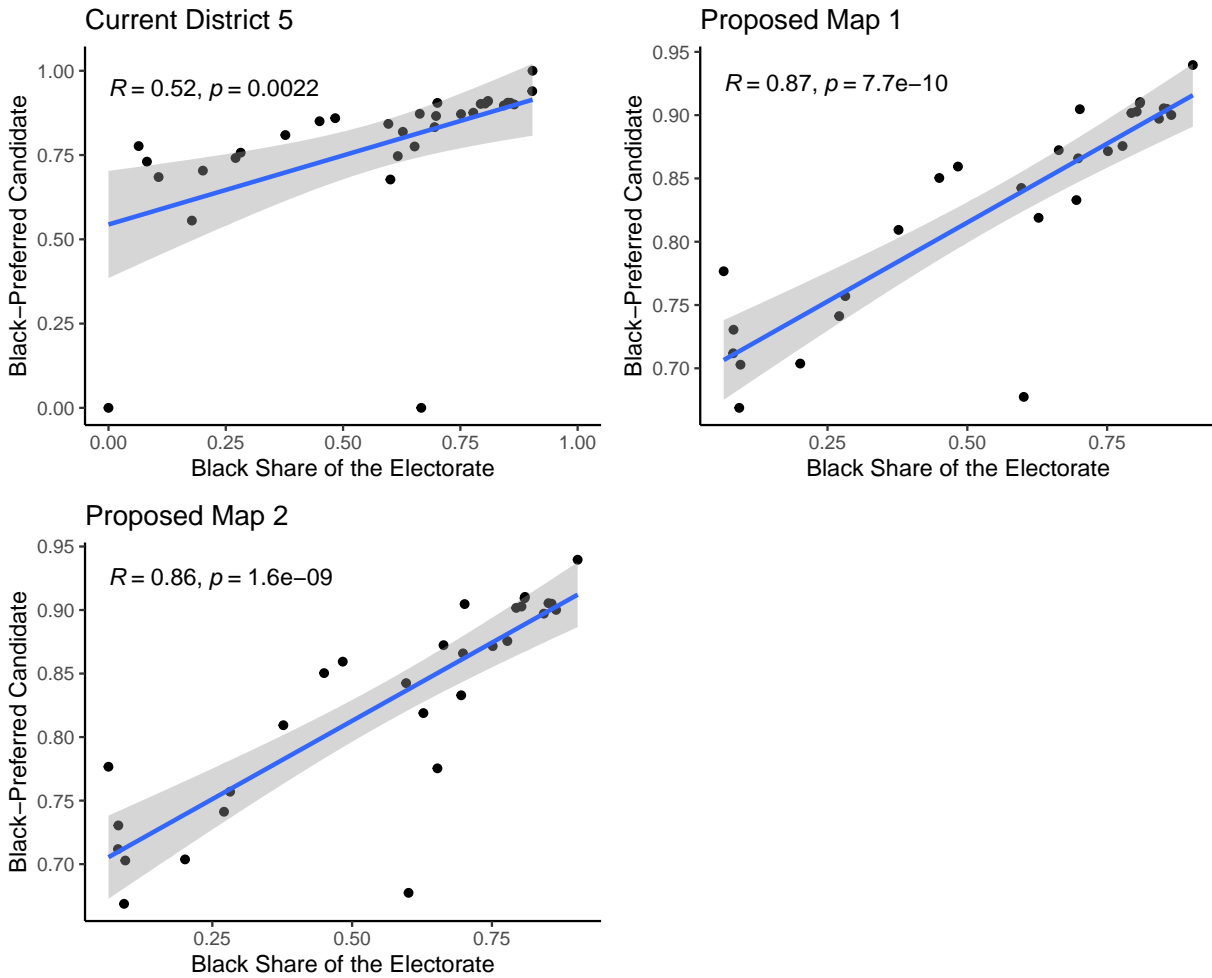


Figure 3: County Mayor

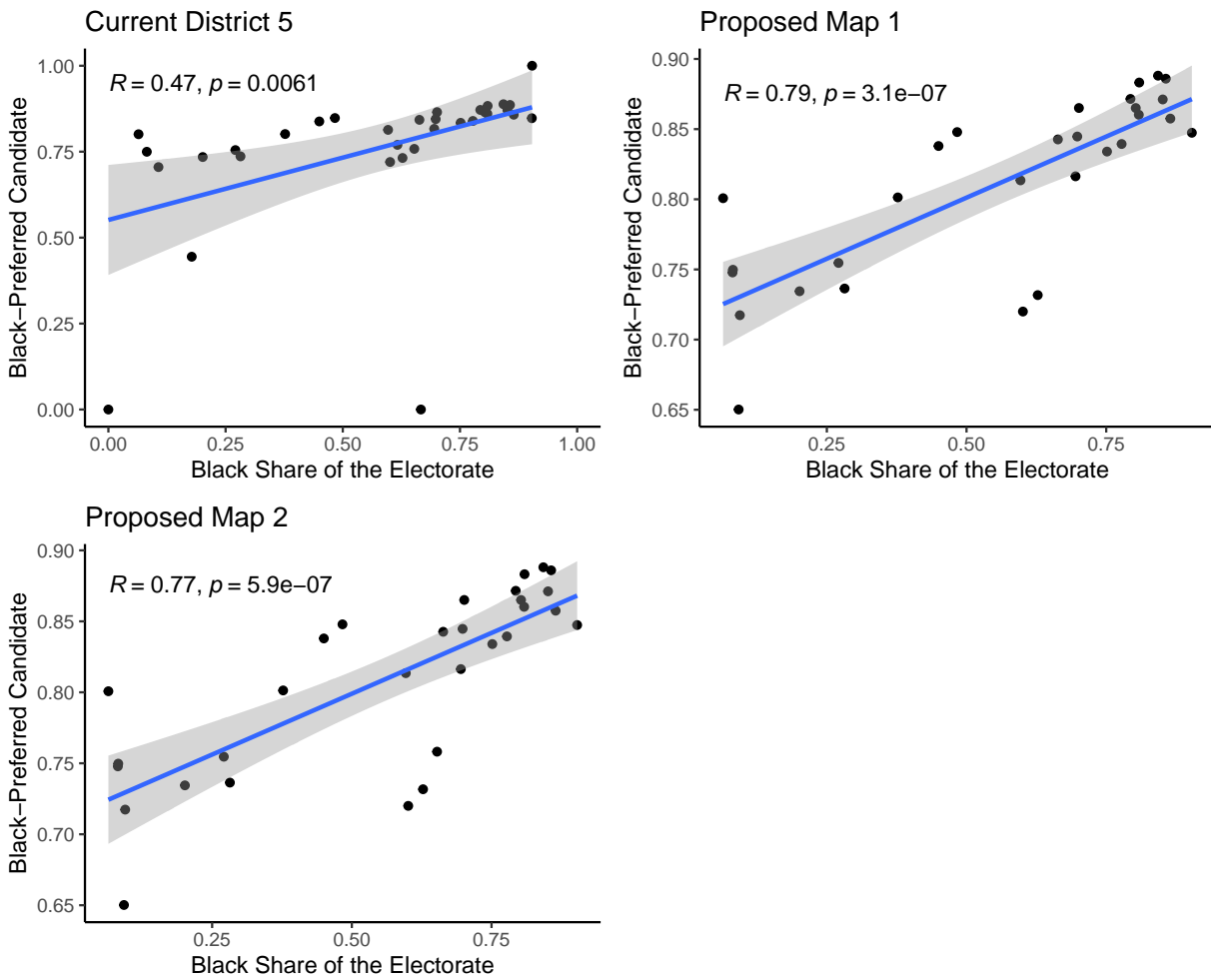


Figure 4: County Judge Group 9

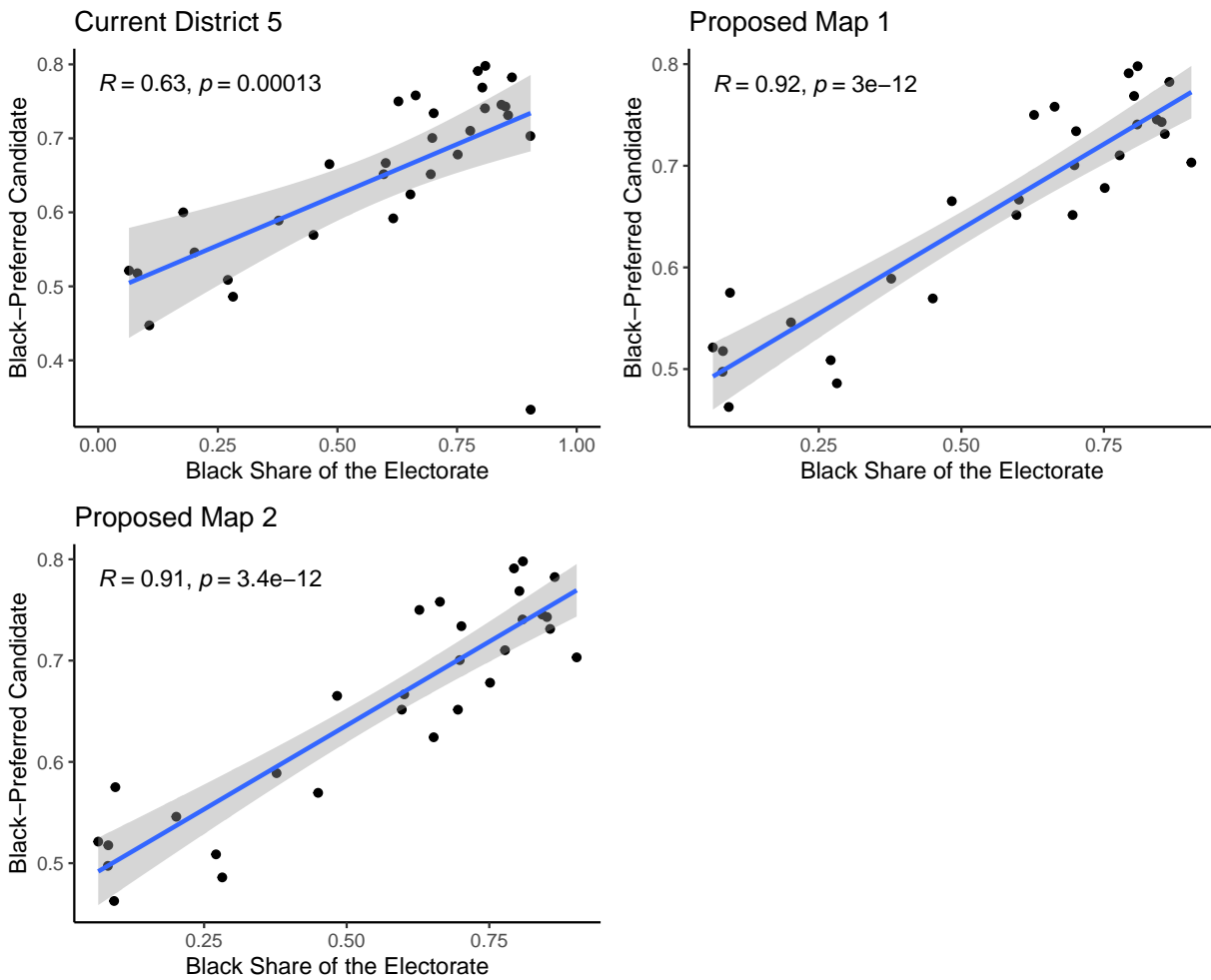


Figure 5: Circuit Judge Group 57

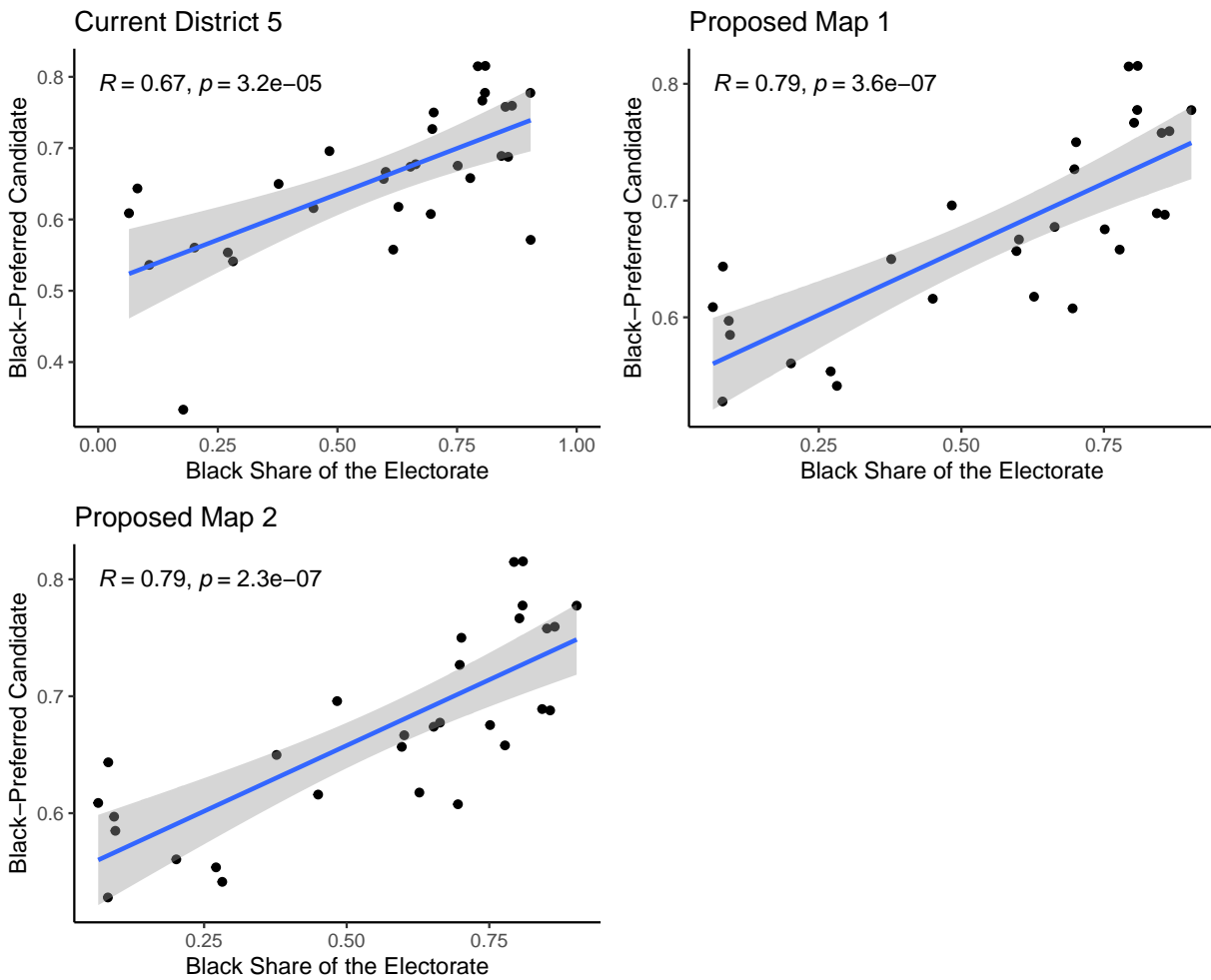
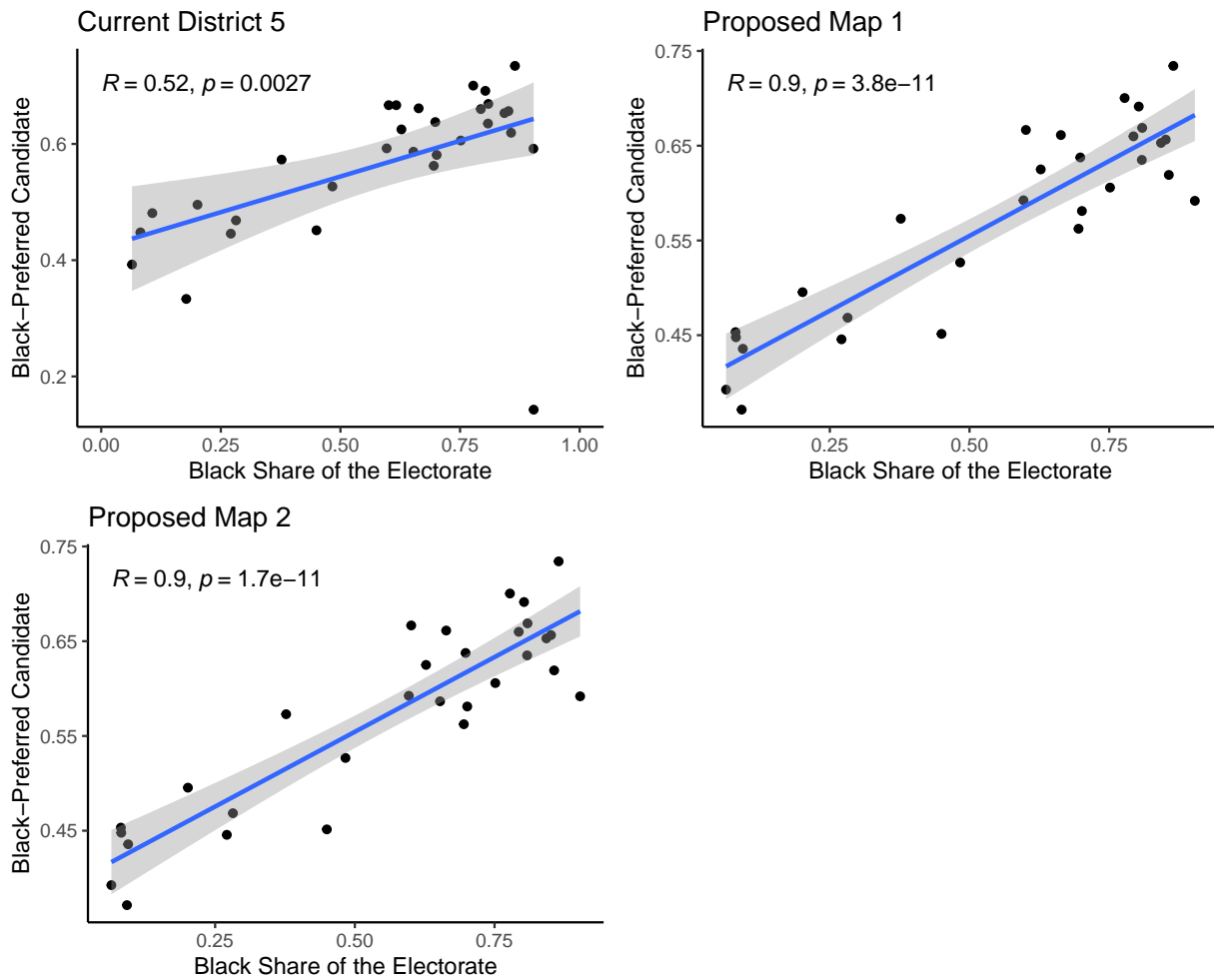
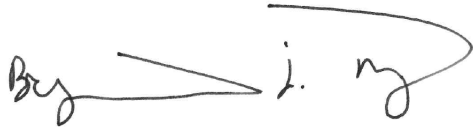


Figure 6: Circuit Judge 67



Summary

In this report, I analyzed two newly proposed maps for District 5. I analyzed six recent elections and found that Black support in this district is cohesive. Moreover, in those elections, the Black-preferred candidate will receive the majority of the votes in the newly proposed districts. Lastly, I re-analyze five contests that previously showed evidence of racial polarization. The Black-preferred candidate would prevail in either of the two proposed districts. More importantly, Black voters can better translate their numbers into higher vote shares for their preferred candidate in the two proposed districts.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bryant J. Moy". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the end.

Bryant J. Moy, Ph.D.
Date: June 12, 2023